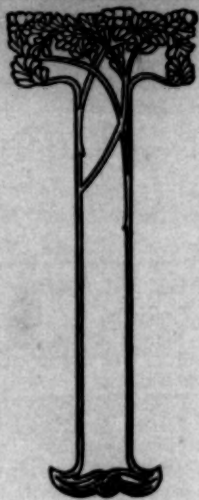


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 3
No. 3



"WILD OATS FOR WOMEN"

SUFFRAGE IN ILLINOIS

THE MENACE TO CIVILIZATION

POLITICIANS ROCK THE CRADLE

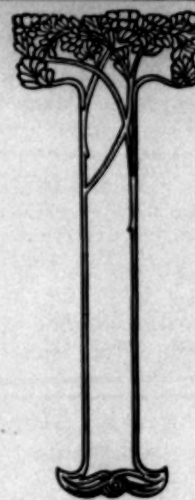
LIMITATIONS OF PAGEANTRY

COMPARISON OF LAWS IN
SUFFRAGE AND NON-SUFFRAGE
STATES

SEX FREEDOM AND SUFFRAGE
SLAVERY

A PARABLE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JULY
1913



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Wild Oats for Women

By FRANCES H. LOW

ONE of the shrewdest social observers of our day remarked recently to me that he could not for the life of him understand the intense passion that women, for and against woman suffrage, imported into their arguments. "Surely," he added, "they might agree to differ politely upon what after all is an intellectual controversy."

Women themselves are aghast at the amount of intense feeling that at once comes into existence with regard to the vote question. But the more far-seeing and thoughtful, with that strange, wonderful instinct of self-preservation—an instinct which is the adequate equivalent of the more intelligent man's reason—have fathomed what has escaped the acute mind referred to above. Behind the vote, in the revolutionary section of the Suffragists, the section out to *destroy*, is feminism, and behind feminism, the "economic independence" of women, the translation of every woman into a wage-earner, whether married or single; if single with the accompaniment that she is to "do what she likes," "be free as men are," and if married free to fill jam-pots, or see to municipal dust-bins, or "go into the city," while the State, or that contemptible individual known hitherto as a "husband," *pays someone else to feed and rear her children*.

The abolition of the home, the substitution of the public crèche and the organization of a set of persons (very inferior, of course) to attend to the business of life for husband and children, while the wives are "getting free"—this is the real aim of the feminists, who, to do them justice, do not disguise their naive views of life and duty.

One lady in a demand for "group-houses" speaks of the "appalling frequency and the inexorable reiteration of human eating," which she says pathetically, with rich unconscious humor, "can only be realized not by those who merely eat, but by those responsible for the feeding. Yet so long," is her sapient conclusion, "as the large majority of women, simply because they are married women, are responsible for this never-ending, never-ceasing work, though the exceptional woman, or the unmarried woman, who is freed from it, may advance, women as a whole are doomed to remain where they are."

The fact is that 99 per cent. of us men and women *cannot* do what we like, such is this perverse world. And most of us, with fairly good sense, do our duty more or less adequately, and keep the law and the gospel, and the rest, and if we are wise keep our discontent, by no means "divine," to our own breasts. This, we take it, has ever been, the only difference being that up to the dawn of the Girton intellect women, having a finer organization and leading less rough fighting lives than men, set them unconsciously an example of quiet duty faithfully done and helped to make the world, on the whole, a tolerably endurable place, with occasional exquisite moments of intense joy and happiness.

All this is now, if we let the feminists have their way, in process of being ruthlessly destroyed. In novels, in plays, on platforms, in the press, the gospel is being feverishly preached that woman is, as we have seen in the passage quoted above, a shamefully put-upon person, who is not allowed, as men are, to "get free." In this process of "getting free" she is to do what she likes, or, as the outrageous heroine of the latest sex-play remarks with that delicate, graceful frankness so beloved of feminists, "to have her fling," while she vivaciously recommends her "husband" to do the same.

Here is this play, "Her Side of the House," which expounds in forceful fashion the very latest doctrine of the feminists, that a woman should be free to "have her fling," or "sow her wild oats," just as the man does. In the play the eighteen-year-old

heroine, fresh from a convent, uses this elegant expression; elsewhere, as, for instance, in the chief organ of feminism, it is put in this form with variations and explanations that could not be printed here. "It has long been my desire that the time may soon come when women, like men, may experiment in love without having their whole lives eternally blighted and blasted." The lady then goes on to amplify her views a little in this wise: "I would regard with toleration, and indeed with sympathy, *two or three experiments or trials in love* . . . (the italics are mine).

But the writer, a Miss Kathlyn Oliver, would draw the line here. For this moderation, for this "lack of a broad, generous outlook," she is severely taken to task, both by male and female readers, but mainly the latter, who refer sneeringly to her "prudishness," to her "cool assumption," that other women, "freer" women, with more "splendid, ardent temperaments" would share the views of one who is evidently but "poorly equipped," etc., etc.

Just about the time these astonishing views were appearing last year a meeting took place, if I do not err, under the auspices of the Actresses' Franchise League.

In the course of the discussion one speaker, amid the approval of the audience, stated that they did not ask for greater sex restrictions for men; what they did ask for was a like "freedom" for themselves.

Now it will be urged that these are extreme opinions, that the great majority of women are untouched by them, and that there always have been advanced women of this type. I do not for one moment deny that there are thousands of women who live good and self-restrained lives, not because of the tyranny of their men folk, not because of the conventions of society, but because they are sincerely convinced of the *rightness* of so doing; and that they hold no conviction more deeply than that any reform must be, not to allow women greater latitude in this particular way, but, by example, influence and persuasion, to raise the standard for men.

Nevertheless, we shall make the greatest mistake in the world if we take no notice of the growth of this horribly pernicious campaign and believe that if we *ignore* it the canker will disappear. Sensible, mature women with a knowledge and experience of life have no idea of the fascination of this doctrine for the younger women.

Moreover, fashion, whether in dress or morals, has an enormous sway over the mass of women. Men can never understand this. It must therefore be recognized that we have a body of persons in our midst, mainly women, fiercely determined to create a new chapter in the history of morals. Hitherto a larger proportion of women than of men in civilized communities have lived lives of self-restraint. The old order, say these fierce champions, is passing away and the old conceptions of morality are out of date. If some of the angry rhetoricians would pause and reflect what the consequences of this new departure will be they might conceivably refrain from the preaching of a gospel which will lead many impetuous young creatures to take a false step and land them into irremediable disaster in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred.

And if we try to acquire a little more simplicity and be a little less self-conscious and egotistical, while endeavoring to take broader views of life with its manifold complications and relationships, we shall come to see much beneath the social "conventions" that is vital and saving; and amid the conventions none has a more real significance than the high standard imposed on women.—(*The London Daily Mail*.)

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July, 1913

No. 3



The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

SUFFRAGE IN ILLINOIS.

The right of a corporation to seek a franchise, or other privilege, of a legislative body is undeniable.

The right of that corporation to establish what has come to be called a "lobby" is clear. Such a lobby is one of the cogs in that mechanism of government known as "the right of petition."

The right of petition is inalienable to all citizens.

Disrepute has been brought upon the word "lobby" because the element of stealth was introduced into their solicitation by corporations whose sole thought was "Get it done and let the people howl."

In fact their practice has evolved the axiom:

Every evil lobby works in secret.

A righteous lobby works in the open—and covets publicity.

By means of the right of petition and the righteous lobby reform legislation is constantly being enacted in every State of the Union, and no righteous lobby ever yet sought "to do good by stealth and blush to find it fame."

Every evil lobby works in secret.

A lobby was recently conducted in the State of Illinois before the legislature at Springfield.

This lobby sought votes for women.

This lobby worked in secret.

The sympathetic Syracuse Post-Standard says: "As their efforts were directed at a legislative body, not the people, the suffragists felt that a noiseless campaign was as *justifiable* as it was *wise*."

Why was the secrecy of the evil lobby considered justifiable by the woman suffrage lobby?

Because it was wise.

And why was it wise?

Because the suffragists were afraid of a referendum to the people, and they said so.

Every evil lobby works in secret for exactly that reason.

The Rochester Times editorial tells us:

The suffrage leaders, realizing the obstacles to be overcome in securing the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people, and also profiting by their experience in Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin, where the suffrage amendments were defeated by the voters, decided to adopt other tactics. They discovered that a large measure of their suffrage desires might be obtained without vote of the people. In Illinois the Legislature has the power to give the vote to women for all offices established by the Legislature. These offices include Mayors of all cities, Aldermen, village and town officials and Presidential electors. It does not have the power to give women the vote for Governor, Senators or Representatives, or members of the Legislature.

The suffragists established headquarters in Springfield in charge of four women and had a bill introduced granting them the vote for all offices which were created by the Legislature. The legislators were divided into groups and a suffragist was made responsible for each group. When the bill was introduced the suffragists had 40 avowed supporters in the House. Seventy-seven were needed to win, and they had 83 on the final roll call.

The suffrage workers operated so quietly and systematically that they knew exactly what to expect on the final roll call, the same methods being employed in the Senate as in the House. It is stated that even the national leaders of the suffrage movement were in ignorance of what was going on in Springfield beyond the bare knowledge that the bill had been introduced and was being pushed. Opponents of the measure did not suspect that the suffragists were making an effective canvass and the result was a complete surprise to the opponents of "votes for women" as well as to most of its advocates.

And the St. Louis Post-Despatch adds:

Had the friends of woman suffrage in Illinois appeared before the House proposing a constitutional amendment as a means of reaching their end, their measure would have gone down into that vortex which has swallowed so many others of equal or greater merit. Appearing only as advocates of a statutory act, they were also fortunate, we think, in that postponement of final action on the bill which brought it up after the defeat of so many other measures demanded by reformers that a tendency to yield something to "mere clamor" must have helped them somewhat. At any rate, we frankly admit our great surprise at their success.

The Pittsburgh Dispatch feels that the "victory" may turn out a barren victory in law. It says:

The restrictions and exceptions in the grant of woman suffrage in Illinois is due to constitutional limitations as reacted on by practical politics. This produces a result that may take a Supreme Court decision to be sure that it has granted any extension of the suffrage.

The provision for amending the constitution of Illinois limits the submission of amendments to but one article at a time. The effect of this on the legislative mind is that as a general thing no articles can be passed at any given time. It is like the narrow fire exit. When that allows but one person to pass, they all, in the case of a panic, want to go through at once, and all stick. The Illinois suffrage amendment got stuck with other amendments. Its supporters cast about for some means of getting around the difficulty. They found that there are certain offices, not specifically named in the State constitution, varying from Presidential electors down to county collectors. The theory was adopted that the constitution did not define the qualification of voters for these offices, and the bill was drawn granting suffrage to women for all offices not named in the constitution.

It is quite doubtful whether this may not turn out a barren victory in law. The intentions of the legislators were honorable, but their power under a construction at all strict will be very questionable. It seems hardly possible that the suffrage provision of the constitution of that State is drawn in such slovenly terms that it does not apply to all officers elected under the authority of the Legislature.

The constitutionality of the enactment will be tested in the courts.

Whether it stands or not the fact remains that the ballot is an end rather than a means. The Bluefield (W. Va.) Telegraph recognizes this when it says:

Have conditions in Illinois proved that the ballot is a cure-all for the great variety of political ills? Does the use to which the male voters of that great State have put the ballot suggest that the women have had a valuable weapon placed in their hands?

Of course, there are two ways of answering this question. One way is that not a more general suffrage but a higher plane of popular intelligence is needed to insure an economic and straightforward administration of public office. Another way is that women will do better with the ballot than men have done.

We are inclined to believe that the former answer is the more sound one. We have no reason to suppose that women will be more faithful in going to the polls than men have been, or that they will be able to look any further ahead than men have been.

Perhaps too many men have made a poor use of the ballot, because they have lacked the old-time home influence, which made for sobriety and temperateness and recognition of the sterner duties of life.

We have no doubt as to the power and influence of women. Our doubts all lie in another direction. We have had too many occasions to note that there is needed a power back of the ballot if sanity and sobriety are to prevail in public affairs. We believe that women will again exert a mighty influence in the government of the nation, but we believe it will be when they return to the old faith which held that "As the twig is bent the tree is inclined." When they remember that there must be specially trained warriors—and somebody is to keep the rust from their armor,

The Insidious Peril Now Menacing Our Civilization

THE suffrage *craze* reaching its natural and logical outcome in the criminally insane actions of the London Suffragettes, must be considered the greatest danger now menacing our civilization, for it strikes at the very foundation of the *family and the State*. There should be and probably is no difference of opinion among alienists and psychologists as to the abnormal mental condition of its participants, from the hysterical and hyper-emotional beginning to the perpetration of the atrocities being daily enacted in Great Britain and shocking the civilized world.

It appears inconceivable to all thinking people that the British Criminal Courts, heretofore considered as among the world's best, should persistently treat these women malefactors as common criminals when they certainly should be classed as criminally insane.

Almost without exception the participants are intelligent and in many cases highly cultured women, having heretofore led blameless lives. It, therefore, appears as unthinkable that they when sane could have been guilty of the crimes and misdemeanors committed by them. Instead of sentencing them to prison, therefore, they should be sent to the asylums for the criminally insane and treated as humanly as possible; but in cases where food is persistently declined, nourishing by other means than feeding through the mouth should be promptly resorted to. This course of action, radical though it may appear, would primarily free the courts from its present almost humiliating position and no doubt have a salutary effect on women in the incipient stage of the malady and bring others beginning to be effected to their senses.

While in London last summer I was present at a gathering or meeting of Suffragettes in Hyde Park. The subject under discussion was the sentencing of the woman who had set fire to the theater at Dublin, heedless of destroying innocent human lives. The meeting appeared unanimous in their approval of this terrible crime. It was composed of women who appeared to belong to the intelligent classes, while the one presiding impressed me as a person of culture and refinement. I ventured to ask her whether she approved of the Dublin episode when she dramatically raised both arms and in a loud tone of voice replied "*I glory in it.*"

Thus far the craze among our American women has not gone beyond lowering themselves in the eyes of sensible people at home and abroad and causing much unhappiness among their sane relatives and friends. It is to be feared, however, that conditions such as exist in Great Britain must eventually be looked for if the efforts of the American anti-suffrage organization and public opinion do not soon put a stop to the mania.

For its male advocates as a class I have no respect whatever, for generally speaking they must either be grossly ignorant, cowardly or influenced by selfish political motives, for every intelligent and experienced man must know that women are no more like men psychologically than physically; that they are constituted to do many things far better than men, while for others, notably politics, they are entirely unsuited. The high position which *good* and intelligent women hold in our country is owing to the fact that the *good* and intelligent men look up to them as ethically their superiors and this constitutes them the ruling element. Women, however, can never become and remain the so-called "equals" of men, and whenever they attempt to do so are sure to drop below men's level. For this reason they have almost uniformly become worse politicians than their male colleagues whenever and wherever they have attempted to mix in practical politics.

I am reliably informed that the record of woman suffrage (notably in Colorado) proves that some of the most censurable

political work, such as alliance with the most undesirable political elements for the purpose of carrying objectionable measures, was brought about by women politicians.

For the reasons given, women have in the past, and can in the future, accomplish more without the franchise than with it.

The writer, an old man past the biblical age of threescore years and ten, has raised a large family of girls, and is therefore greatly interested in any movement which promises to be a help to them and their sex. From his earliest manhood, however, he has also taken a deep interest in all public matters tending to political and social reform, and was one of the pioneers in the leading political reform movements of the last half century. When still a young man in the early stages of the then so-called "Women's Rights Movement," he favored it in the mistaken belief that good women would raise the ethical standard of politics. On gaining experience, however, he found that the opposite result was in evidence, for in nearly every instance coming under his notice where women entered the field of practical politics, instead of their raising the standard they deteriorated and generally were drawn down lower into the mire than their male colleagues. He was one of the first in his State to advocate the appointment of women on the educational boards, both municipal and State, judging that for this branch of the public service they were especially suited, but in most cases they either proved inefficient or quarrelsome and often introduced or furthered the worst kind of politics.

Women have ever taken a prominent part in all great ethical movements, and their influence will be practically paramount as long as men can look up to them, but becomes "nihil" whenever the latter instead of considering them their superiors look upon them as inferiors.

From the standpoint of practical politics, woman suffrage would bring about conditions making the *decent* administrations of our great cities, now difficult enough, practically impossible, and therefore render efforts for reform futile. The reason for this is quite evident in the fact that in such event the additional votes of purchasable and ignorant women would far overbalance the votes of good and intelligent women. Much more could be said in elucidation of this subject, which, however, will appear unnecessary for the intelligent reader.

The effect on the family, the center of our civilization, in case the suffrage craze should succeed, I can best illustrate through the opinion openly expressed by one of the prominent leaders of the movement many years ago. After delivering an address on the subject a gentleman in the audience rose and asked the speaker whether a woman could do her full duty as a citizen, for voting alone is surely not all required, and also those falling to her as a wife and a mother? Unhesitatingly the speaker answered with an emphatic "No," and when asked for an explanation replied that she considered the emancipation of women the most important question of the day and any prevailing conditions which stood in its way must be eliminated. That she had for some time come to the conclusion that the family did stand in the way, and that consequently the *family must go*. From her anarchistic and mentally unbalanced standpoint her conclusion must be considered as logical and clearly shows the danger of the suffrage movement to the family as the basis of our civilization. An incident which was told me by a gentleman close to General Grant, then President of the United States, many years ago, is also remarkably applicable to this very important question.

It appeared that some of the prominent "Women's Rights" leaders called upon the President and requested him to further their movement. He listened patiently, as was his wont, and

thereupon suggested that they call upon Mrs. Grant. They did so, and after presenting the matter to that lady were smilingly informed that she had her hands quite full with caring for her husband and children and left everything in the way of politics to the General, finally advising them to see him. When informed that they had already interviewed the General, who referred them to his wife, Mrs. Grant smilingly said, "Well, this is one of the General's little jokes." Thereupon the ladies, in not the best of tempers, returned to the other end of the White House and indignantly took the latter to task for sending them on what appeared to be a "fool's errand." The President allowed the vials of their wrath to be emptied on his guilty head and then said: "Ladies, I acknowledge that it was not just right for me to send you to Mrs. Grant when I well knew what her answer would be. But you see I am a very busy man and I wished to point an object lesson which would clearly explain my position in the matter. You see, Mrs. Grant has no object in interesting herself in women's rights, for the simple reason that she has not alone her own rights but mine also. Now I know what you will say, that unfortunately such conditions do not exist in every household. True, but do you think where friction already exists between husband and wife or parents and grown-up children that you are going to help matters by throwing between them the firebrand of religion or politics, either of which has separated many warm friends, and I presume the latter even more so than the former?"

It is truly surprising that this ill-advised movement should have been started in our country, where women occupy a higher position than in any other section of the civilized world and the letter and construing of its laws are clearly in their favor.

I have spent a good share of my time for a long term of years abroad and am conversant with the social conditions of most of the West-European countries. Their laws and regulations regarding women are not up to our standard and urgently require revision. There was quite a disposition on the part of the governments and their progressive citizens to bring about reforms, but fear of consequences, caused by the unreasonable agitation in the United States and Great Britain, and the consequent crimes in the latter country, has so alarmed the authorities and adversely influenced public opinion that results in that direction cannot be expected for many years to come.

Some years ago two of the most prominent leaders of the Suffrage Movement came to Berlin to make "propaganda" for their cause. One of them delivered an address, the opening sentence of which was: "It has been reported that we have come to Germany for the purpose of endeavoring to have laws and regulations regarding women changed, and I wish to state that this is a mistake. We have come to secure the franchise. All else is non-essential."

The present attitude of the German government and the thinking progressive German people can therefore be readily understood.

VERITAS.

Shall the Politician Rock the Cradle?

WOMEN have promised to purify politics. So far in its short life we may justly accuse the suffrage movement of various reforms, "revisions downward." It is now (according to the new politics) justifiable to burn, destroy and do any mischief short of taking life in order to pass a bill. There is scarcely a criminal act or piece of malpractice which has not been upheld and defended by one prominent member or another of the suffrage movement from forgery to abduction, from innocuous impertinence and annoyance to arson and dynamite and anonymous threats. The old politics were bad enough, but at least something was sacred to them. Life was not *all* corrupt politics. Home life at least was outside it. Now the home itself is dragged into politics. Party bitterness hangs over the baby's cradle and invades the kitchen and the laundry. And are the standards higher and purer or more tender? Who can say so? The acts defended by Suffragists are such as only anarchists and the lowest ward politicians make use of and which scarcely *they* have dared to defend, and there is no longer a "time and place" for political discussion. It has crept into prayer-meetings, schools, sewing societies, afternoon teas—even hospitals and sanatoriums and reformatories and orphan asylums may be expected to be tainted with it since the trained nurses, social workers and teachers are becoming infected. This is inevitable if all women are to become voters. As all must have observed who observe at all, men's discussion of politics outside the home is constant and continuous. A group of men together in railroad, cafe or street are always absorbed in one of the topics, politics or business. A similar group of average females is invariably talking about children, servants, cost of living, clothes or the sins of her neighbors. I have made observations on this fact for many years and in all countries. It never varies, and may therefore be assumed that the questions which chiefly absorb woman's attention are domestic, social and moral, whether her attention is fixed on them in a good or bad sense.

Now if women enter politics one of two things will happen—either children, servants, clothes and food and the sins of society will be dragged into party politics, or women will neglect these

most essential matters to play a minor part in men's affairs. It is possible that both might happen. The anti-suffrage view of the matter is that children, servants, clothes, food and sin can be better dealt with outside politics than in them. We do not want the welfare of children, nor the prices of necessities, nor the sins of our friends made party questions at all. We want them dealt with as universal questions of social welfare on non-political lines, and we thank God that this point of view is being daily more widely accepted as the next broad step in human progress in all enlightened countries. In England it is being preached by so great a man as Lord Milner, and here the new spirit is already at work, and nothing can stay its growth and development.

The awakening of a new conscience and a new understanding of how closely knit are the interests of both sexes and all society. This new movement toward unity and helpfulness along right lines of endeavor will, we hope and believe, soon supersede and overwhelm the narrow factional disturbance created for a day by a group of uneasy women of myopic vision. The fundamental things of life will not pass, woman's relation to man and to her duty will not alter, homes will not be abolished nor society turned upside down. But the Suffragist, as we know her, will pass or will be welded and absorbed into the larger movement. As for the militant Suffragette, like all natural and abominable growths, she must suffer under nature's law of the survival of the fittest. As Israel Zangwill (a militant Suffragist) said in his earlier and saner years, "Life naturally tends to be simple and sweet as grass to grow green in the sun."

The militant Suffragette does not "tend to be simple and sweet." She is a bramble in the path of true progress, an obstacle and a hindrance to the grass which would grow green in the sun. To let the grass grow we must root out the brambles. Nature will do it for us. The Maened has not the instinct of motherhood—

"The children born of her are fire and sword.
Red ruin and the breaking up of homes."

W.

The Modern Vampire

(May Rudyard Forgive Us.)

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

A fool there was and she longed for the game
(Even as you and I),
For the stress and fret of political fame,
The honors that come with a prominent name,
For she fancied her niche in the world was tame
(Even as you and I).

Oh, the love she laid in her own heart's grave
For the work that her mind had planned,
The work we know that she never would know,
And we know of a truth that she never could know
And never could understand.

A fool there was and her best she gave
(Even as you and I),
She made of herself a political slave
(Mere man she opined was a treacherous knave),
For the fool would never her folly save
(Even as you and I).

Oh, the tricks she played, which the Lord forbid
Had ever been really planned;
Misleading a public that didn't know why,
And now we know it will never know why,
And never will understand.

The fool may flaunt while the game is new
(Even as you and I),
But when it is played and the fad is through
The rest of the world will have plenty to do
Trying to cover her faults from view
(Even as you and I).

And it isn't the ache of the heart or its break
That stings like a white-hot brand;
It's a world unsexed for a woman's cry,
For a woman who really doesn't know why
And never will understand.

The Limitations and Possibilities of Pageantry

IT is fairly certain that suffrage will not break into militancy in the United States. It seems to be tending rather toward the spectacular and toward appeals to the æsthetic or sensuous side of men, which in our opinion is even more dangerous. Youth and beauty are now in great demand as "touts" for the "cause," Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe would scarcely recognize the new element could they return to earth. In fact, we fancy they would shed as many tears as the Connecticut Suffragists did over their defeat in the Legislature could they witness the vagaries, eccentricities and theatrical display of modern apostles of liberty enlightening the world.

The pageantry of suffrage must involve considerable expense, and the question suggests itself: Will women in politics wish to turn out on every occasion dressed in artistic and striking costumes? Will women apparessed as Ceres challenge Congress to raise the tariff on cereals? Will other women appear in skins and feathers to put forward the standpoint of meat and poultry buyers? And will Senators and Congressmen respond by dressing also to suit the part? Will campaign funds in the future have to cover the cost of attractive attire suitable to the character assumed?

Modern women are no longer susceptible to flattery as to their personal charms, manners or accomplishments. They require now to be told that they are fitted to be great generals and to rule the State. Politicians in suffrage States seem to be rising to the occasion and are loud in their protestations of faith. In return they get women's votes. But it looks as though the sexes were changing places and the men were becoming at last the power behind the throne. The women, like the populace of ancient Rome, are easily diverted by pageants and games and much flow of oratory.

In ancient Rome when the people clamored for bread they gave them a pageant. Suffragists seem to labor under the happy illusion that pageants mean votes. But everyone who is opposed

to woman suffrage and militancy cheerfully accepts pageantry as an outlet—so long as the Suffragists pay for it.

The suffrage movement is only the life force gone wrong. When we hear of a few Suffragists voluntarily signing away their right to maintenance and dower and alimony in the presence of notary we will be convinced of the sincerity of their desire for economic independence. When we hear of a woman refusing to accept as wife more than she is worth as economic partner we will believe in wages for wives and marriage on a business basis. When we hear that all married wage-earning Suffragists voluntarily go to work to double the pay envelope we will be converted to the theory of equal financial responsibility towards the family.

The Rochester (N. Y.) *Herald* of June 8th contains several photographs of girls, spectacularly attired, as they marched in a suffrage parade. Beneath these pictures is the following comment:

Mrs. Arthur Dodge, who is one of the anti-suffrage leaders, says that the suffrage parades are simply a "form of sex appeal by woman" to mere man. It is the opinion of another observer that the appearance of the Suffragists in the pageant they held on Long Island would seem to justify the criticism of the anti. What, he says, for example, what weight would pure reason, as expounded by Dr. Mary Walker, have against the pouting lips of these pretty flower girls, even if they uttered rank heresy? Elizabeth Freeman appeared in the pageant, leading a score of fetching young "newsgirls," whose ravishing smiles made many a convert to the cause. A Juno-like Suffragist in a divided skirt and a very fetching hat led the horse which drew Mrs. Rhoda Glover, the oldest Suffragist on Long Island, and, truth to tell, attracted far more attention than did the old lady. The pageant would have been a greater success if there had been more susceptible men to fascinate. But the Long Islanders did not turn out in great force.

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared

COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA	COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA
<p>1. Forbidding the insuring of lives of children under ten years of age.</p> <p>2. Establishing a home for dependent children, two of the five members of the Board of Control to be women.</p>	<p>1. No mention.</p> <p>2. Dependent, incorrigible and delinquent children of the State are fully provided for by the Juvenile Court and Probation Officer System. The child is placed either in the care of the parents, or a probation officer, or a suitable institution, or a private family, or a training or industrial school, or a charitable association, as the Court sees best for the good of the child and the interest of the State. Probation officers receive compensation from the county. Act of April 23, 1903, P. L. 274. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1880. Act of June 7, 1907, P. L. 438. Stewart's Purdon, 5607-08. Act of April 1, 1909, P. L. 89. Stewart's Purdon, 5608. Act of April 22, 1909, P. L. 120. Stewart's Purdon, 5609. Act of June 1, 1911, P. L. 543. Stewart's Purdon, Supplement, p. 309. Act of June 15, 1911, P. L. 969. Stewart's Purdon, Supplement, p. 309. Provisions of institutions, associations and societies for the care of delinquent, neglected or dependent children. Act of March 5, 1903, P. L. 11. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1884. Provision for houses of detention in every city of first and second class for reception of untried juvenile offenders or neglected and dependent children, managed by Board of Managers, consisting of five members, two of whom are women. Act of July 2, 1901, Sections 1 and 2, P. L. 601. Stewart's Purdon, 1851.</p> <p>3. Visitation, at least once a year, by the State Board of Public Charities, of all institutions, associations and societies into whose care the custody of delinquent, neglected or dependent children may be committed. Act of March 5, 1903, Sec. 1, P. L. 112. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1884. Provisions for visitation also by Board of Visitors.</p>	<p>4. Making mothers joint guardians of their children with the father.</p> <p>5. Raising the age of protection for girls to 18 years.</p> <p>6. Requiring one woman physician on the board of insane asylums.</p>	<p>Act of February 26, 1903, Sec. 1, P. L. 8. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1884.</p> <p>4. Ordinarily the husband has control of the child; but, if he proves unfit, the wife, if fit, has same rights over the child as the husband would have had. Act of May 4, 1855, Sec. 3, P. L. 430. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2455. If the wife contributes to the support of the child, she has equal powers with her husband over the child. In cases of dispute the judges decide according to the fitness of the parent and the best interest of the child. Act of June 26, 1895, Sections 1 and 2, P. L. 316. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2456. Where a father does not support or contribute to the support during a period of six months, or where the mother is charged by law with the support of a minor, she has the same rights to its services and to be compensated for its loss as are possessed by the father. Act of May 5, 1911, P. L. 177. Stewart's Purdon, Supp. 311.</p> <p>5. Age of protestation, 16 years.</p> <p>6. One female physician in all hospitals or asylums under control of the State for the medical control of insane female inmates. Act of June 4, 1879, Sections 1 and 2, P. L. 98. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2385. Provision for appointment of women members of Board of Visitors of Lunatic Asylums. Act of May 8, 1883, Sec. 8, P. L. 22. Stewart's Purdon, 2363. Provision for a female attendant at the expense of the county or poor district for all insane female persons in transit. Act of April 14, 1893, Sec. 1, P. L. 20. Stewart's Purdon, 2369. Provision for appointment by Board of Trustees of a skilful female physician every year to have charge of female department of State Hospital for Insane.</p>
<p>3. Requiring three of the six members of the county visitors to be women.</p>			

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared—Continued

COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA	COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA
	Act of June 25, 1898, Sec. 1, P. L. 304. Stewart's Purdon, 2380.		In cities of the second class:
7. Establishing parallel schools.	7. Provision for institutions, associations and societies for care of delinquent, neglected or dependent children. Act of March 5, 1903, P. L. 11. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1884. Provision for Houses of Refuge in Philadelphia and Western Pennsylvania. Act of March 23, 1826, Sections 5, 9 Sm. 84. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1853. Act of April 22, 1850, Sec. 14, P. L. 540. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1857. Provision for reform and industrial schools, see Nos. 2, 11 and 29.		Act of June 17, 1901, Sections 1-8, P. L. 569. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2257. In cities of the third class: Act of May 22, 1901, Sections 1-6, P. L. 288. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2258. In boroughs: Act of May 25, 1897, Sections 1-3, P. L. 84. Stewart's Purdon 2259. Act of May 11, 1901, Sections 1-5, P. L. 169. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2260. Provisions for Public School Libraries, School Code. Act of May 18, 1911, Sections 2501-2517. State Public Library, Law Libraries maintained throughout the State.
8. Making Humane Society State Bureau for child and woman protection.	8. Humane societies throughout the State for child and animal protection.	14. Employing children under 14 in smelter, etc., punishable by imprisonment.	14. No minor under 14, and no illiterate minor under 18, shall be employed in a factory, workshop, store, mercantile establishment, etc. Minors under 18 shall not be employed about blast furnaces, tanneries, electric wires, elevators, railroads, vessels, explosives, etc. Minors over 14 who can read and write can only be employed in establishments having proper sanitation, and in which power machinery is not used, and if used, is properly safeguarded. No minor under 16 shall be employed unless employer keeps an employment certificate or complete lists of all minors so employed. Act of April 29, 1909, Sections 1-13. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5605-07. Public exhibition of minors under 15 in dance-halls, or in any theatre, or place of entertainment where liquor is sold, or as acrobats, etc., or in brothels, is forbidden. Minors under 18 may not be employed for mendicant purposes. Act of June 11, 1879, Sections 2-4, P. L. 142. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1875.
9. Establishing Juvenile Courts.	9. Juvenile courts established. Act of April 23, 1903, Sections 1-11, P. L. 274. Stewart's Purdon 1880. See No. 2 supra for other acts.		
10. Compulsory education with certain questionable exemptions.	10. Compulsory education. School Code, Act of May 18, 1911, Sec. 1421.		
11. No mention.	11. Industrial education in the public school system. Manual training schools have existed since 1881. Philadelphia Trades School, established in 1906. State College provides for industrial education. Provision for maintenance of children committed to Industrial Schools. For list of Industrial Schools see No. 29.		
12. Fathers and mothers joint heirs of child.	12. Father and mother hold by entireties, with right of survivorship, the real and personal properties of an intestate child. Act of April 8, 1833, P. L. Sec. 3; P. & L. Digest. 2410.		
13. Establishing traveling libraries.	13. Free Library Commission. Act of May 5, 1899, Sec. 1, P. L. 247. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2254. Provisions for Free Libraries throughout the State, in cities of 1st class: Act of June 7, 1891, Sec. 1-5, P. L. 170. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2255. Act of March 20, 1903, Sec. 1 and 2 P. L. 46. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2256.	15. Requiring joint signature of husband and wife to every chattel mortgage, sale of homestead, etc.	15. Wife must join in conveyance of real estate by husband in order to bar her dower. Husband's mortgage of real estate is valid without wife's joinder. Chattel mortgages do not exist. Earnings of a married woman, whether as wages for labor, salary,

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared—Continued

COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA	COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA
<p>16. Making it a criminal offense to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Parents being made responsible but no proof of age is required other than the affidavit of parent or guardian.</p> <p>17. Making it a misdemeanor to fail to support aged or infirm parents.</p> <p>18. Abolishing the system of binding out girls committed to Industrial Schools.</p> <p>19. No mention.</p>	<p>property, business or otherwise, are her own and inure to her separate benefit and are not subject to levy by her husband's creditors.</p> <p>Act of April 3, 1872, P. L. 35, Sections 1 and 2. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2456.</p> <p>16. Criminal offence to contribute to the delinquency of a child. Penalty of not more than \$500 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both.</p> <p>Act of May 6, 1909, Sec. 1, P. L. 434. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5609.</p> <p>Parents, guardians, etc., failing to comply with the provisions of the School Code in regard to compulsory attendance are punishable for a criminal offence. Parents, guardians, etc., are responsible for the school attendance of the child.</p> <p>School Code, Act of May 18, 1911, Sec. 1423.</p> <p>17. Provisions for the support of every poor, blind, lame and impotent person, unable to work, by his or her relatives, either children, grandchildren, parents or grandparents.</p> <p>Act of March 20, 1803, Sec. 39, 4 Sm. 65. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1216.</p> <p>Act of June 13, 1836, Sec. 28, P. L. 547. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1217.</p> <p>Provisions for the support of the wife's relatives, either children, grandchildren, parents or grandparents, who are poor, blind, lame, impotent or unable to maintain themselves.</p> <p>Act of March 31, 1812, Sec. 5, 5 Sm. 392. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1217.</p> <p>18. Provisions for the binding out of minors, who have been maintained by charitable institutions, asylums or corporations, to suitable persons, without prejudice to the rights of such institutions over the child.</p> <p>Act of April 13, 1899, Sec. 1, P. L. 46. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1885.</p> <p>19. State University at State College, Pa. State Normal Schools exist throughout the State. Large appropriations by State for University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburg, Pa., etc.</p>	<p>20. No mention.</p> <p>21. No mention.</p> <p>22. No mention.</p> <p>23. No mention.</p> <p>24. No mention.</p>	<p>20. Women over 21 are eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of the State, Constitution of Pennsylvania, Article 10, Section 3. Stewart's Purdon, p. 201.</p> <p>21. If husband neglects or deserts his wife she can become a feme sole trader by filing a petition and securing a certificate from the court. Her property is then her own absolutely and exempt from all claims of her husband or his creditors.</p> <p>Act of May 4, 1855, Sections 2 and 4, P. L. 430. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1663.</p> <p>Provisions as to earnings, etc., see No. 15 supra.</p> <p>22. All policies of life insurance or annuities upon the life of any person, for the benefit of or assigned to the wife or children, or any dependent relative, are vested in such wife or children, or other relative, free and clear from all claims of creditors of such person.</p> <p>Act of April 15, 1868, P. L. 103. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1957.</p> <p>Policies on the life of any person, for the benefit of any married woman, inure to her benefit and that of her children, independently of her husband or his creditors, or the person effecting the same, or his creditors.</p> <p>Act of May 1, 1876, Sec. 25, P. L. 60. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1958.</p> <p>23. Misdemeanor to furnish liquor to any intemperate person after notice by any member of the family or blood relative.</p> <p>Act of April 22, 1903, P. L. 257. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2328.</p> <p>Person giving the notice has right of action for damages against the person furnishing liquor to inebriates.</p> <p>Act of April 12, 1875, Sec. 7, P. L. 41. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2328.</p> <p>Married woman may bring such action in her own name, notwithstanding her coverture, and all damages go to her separate use. Id.</p> <p>24. Wife may be executrix or administratrix of her husband's estate.</p>

Laws of Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States Compared—Continued

COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA	COLORADO	PENNSYLVANIA
25. No mention.	<p>25. The husband, widow, children and parents are entitled to recover damages for any injury causing the death of any person, to be divided as in case of intestacy and without liability to creditors.</p> <p>Act of April 26, 1855, Sec. 1, P. L. 309. Stewart's Purdon, p. 3241-43.</p> <p>Employers' Liability Act of June 10, 1907, Sec. 1 and 2, P. L. 523. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5464.</p> <p>Allows recovery from an employer for injuries suffered by employee, and practically does away with the "Fellow-servant" rule as a defence.</p>	31. No mention.	<p>31. Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, of Western Pennsylvania, of Franklin County and of Westmoreland County. Homes for Friendless Children at Lancaster, Reading, Harrisburg, Scranton, Williamsport, etc. Day nurseries also exist. Protectories for Homeless Boys in Philadelphia and Norristown.</p>
26. No mention.	<p>26. A married woman's property, whether acquired before or after marriage, is her own separate property and not subject to execution for her husband's debts.</p> <p>Act of April 11, 1848, Sec. 6, P. L. 536. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2446.</p> <p>A married woman has the same right and power as an unmarried person to acquire and dispose of property, both real and personal, and has the same entire freedom of contract as an unmarried woman as to such property; but she may not mortgage or convey her real property unless her husband joins, and she may not become accommodation endorser, maker, guarantor or surety for another.</p> <p>Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2451.</p>	32. No mention.	<p>32. Institutions for the care and treatment of the deaf, dumb, blind, consumptive, epileptic, aged, indigent, orphan, pauper, etc., are maintained throughout and by the State, counties or municipalities.</p>
27. No mention.	<p>27. Chief Factory inspector appoints 39 deputy factory inspectors, 5 of whom must be women.</p> <p>Act of May 2, 1905, Sec. 27, P. L. 359. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5487.</p>	33. Women have equal suffrage.	<p>33. Women may be lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists, notaries public, commissioners, teachers, etc. They are eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws.</p>
28. No mention.	<p>28. Free employment offices exist in the larger cities. Strict regulations by the State.</p>	<p>(Additional Good Laws of Pennsylvania will be printed next month)</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin: 10px auto; width: 80%;"> <h3 style="text-align: center;">L'ENVOI OF THE SUFFRAGE</h3> <p style="text-align: center;">By CAROLYN WELLS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(From a Teachers' Magazine.)</p> <p>When the suffrage petition is granted, and the feminine vote has been polled; When the oldest woman has voted and the youngest woman is old; We shall rest, and faith we shall need it, sit down for a moment or two, Till the militant Leaders of Fashion shall set us to work anew. Then those that can vote shall be happy; they shall sit in a golden booth, And register what their age is, without regard for the truth. They shall have real ballots to vote with; though, of course, made pretty and small; They shall vote three or four times over, and never get caught at all. And only the women shall count votes, and only the women shall sort; And no one shall care if they're surplus and no one shall care if they're short. But each in her very best bonnet, and each in a separate pen, Shall vote just as she has a mind to for the law as it will be then!—Selected.</p> </div>	
29. No mention.	<p>29. Industrial schools exist in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Oakdale, Williamsport, Harrisburg, Huntingdon, Eagleville, Morganza, Lancaster, Downingtown, etc., for the education and training of boys and girls.</p>		
30. No mention.	<p>30. Institutions for the care and treatment of the feeble-minded and insane maintained throughout and by the State.</p>		

Sex Freedom and Suffrage Slavery

PROGRESSIVE WOMAN SEEKS SEX FREEDOM

The following article by Jennie Ashley appeared in *The Progressive Woman*, April, 1913:

"* * * It is right that we should investigate and reveal the outrages of enforced prostitution, that we should make known to all the world the damnable fact that men and women profit in cold cash by plunging unwilling girls into such a cess-pool. It is right that we should demand a minimum wage, a living wage, for all women and remove one cause for involuntary prostitution. But it is only rubbing the finger across the dust-covered shelf; it shows that the dirt is there, it removes it in a long streak, but it leaves all the rest of the shelf as dusty as before, and soon the streak itself will be gray again from the dust of an impossible system of life—a system that calls nature vicious for women and vice natural for men.

"The white slave traffic gone, there will be white slaves just the same until we open our eyes wide enough to see the whole horrible, unpardonable hypocrisy of the life we demand of women, a life in which the wife must dress and eat and sleep and talk and walk as her husband's income and will dictates; who must work interminably or be odiously idle as his wishes or necessity prescribes; who must bear children unwillingly, because it is a 'crime' to instruct her how to prevent conception, yet imposes the legal duty of 'serving' her husband as 'wife' and calls it murder to prevent a birth, and this irrespective of what the state of her health may be or what kind of life her husband may be leading. Let her endure all this or explain to the gentlemen of the court why she objects. We sing the praises of these gentle slaves, lauding sacred motherhood, but in reality laying the iron hand of necessity upon the dazed creature groping her way through the mazes of unnatural penalties.

"Slaves, every woman of them to-day, whether prostitutes held unwillingly or prostitutes gone willingly 'astray,' whether submissive wife or rebellious virgin. Slaves every one, because there is no freedom of choice, but only a blind, cruel, stupid master, the social system, that without reason and without sympathy enslaves its womanhood.

"But the cure is on its way. Women are becoming thinkers and are testing themselves the chains that bind them. They are learning how to break them. They are at last beginning to realize that they are slaves and that this is not a necessary condition; just as the working class is begin-

ning to see that wage slavery is not necessary.

"So on with the fight against white slavery and black, on with the working class rebellion against wage slavery, but let women especially keep up the rebellion, demanding fearlessly and incessantly *sex freedom and economic freedom.*"

HOW SUFFRAGE HELPS TO ENSLAVE WOMAN

There is, of course, no Suffragist alive who would willingly fetter the chains upon another woman except in a spirit of innocent bravado, as was done in England in the beginning of the militant campaign, and yet that chaining of woman by woman is symbolic of the whole movement. It is done, like so much of woman's work, through indirect influence, unconsciously exercised.

The searching investigation into the causes of vice now going on is fast leading to the conclusion that low wages is only one of the factors in the situation, and that wrong education or neglected moral training is the real root of the evil, combined, as it always must be, with the modifying influence of good or bad environment, for which men and women are equally responsible. Added to these causes are the hereditary characteristics of viciousness or weakness which the eugenisists may tackle at their leisure, for they are not always susceptible to elimination or even much modification in one generation.

Now, in what way does suffrage education or suffrage environment strengthen the boy or girl against temptation? It begins with an attack on all authority, parental or governmental. It goes on to inspire the girl with a cock-sure self-confidence which tempts her to make herself conspicuous and to court danger, doing outlandish reckless things which are far from proving her capacity to take care of herself, prove the exact reverse. To the boy, it says, "Your sister is your physical, mental and moral equal. Let her look out for herself. Are you your sister's keeper?" It asks for complete freedom from protection or tutelage for women and young girls and despises all laws made in their favor. It would have rejoiced if the Supreme Court had found such laws unconstitutional. Mrs. Ida Harper gave very definite expression to these views in her late interview with President Wilson, and the Rev. Olympia Brown spoke with burning scorn before the Congressional Committee of any attempt to limit the right of

a woman to make any contract she pleased, or to work as many hours as she pleased at what price she pleased. (It is quite true the Suffragists may demand protection in the next breath in special instances—but we are discussing now the principles they advocate abstractly—not personally).

Suffragists in general hold that a girl is entitled to wreck her own life, or if not to wreck it, to destroy at least that luminous quality of mind and heart which belongs alone to purity, by experimental relationships between the sexes. This right to experimental relationships in early life is what fills and must help to fill the ranks of white slavery. The Suffragists support this primal cause. The other cause is purely economic and has little influence where education has been sound and heredity not abnormally conducive. This is low wages. But granting that this question of wages has the determining power Suffragists would have us believe (and it could, of course, be pleaded as much in extenuation of the slaver who lives on the woman's profits as for the slave herself), what are the Suffragists doing to raise wages or alter conditions? They are appearing before committees pleading for votes for women or on platforms urging all women into industrial life and thus increasing an already merciless competition which they say drives many women to ruin. They do this because votes come first with them and women's welfare afterwards, and because it is only as agents for Socialism that they can hope to succeed.

But the result of an overcrowded labor market is low wages and all the commissions and committees in the world cannot alter that fact. A minimum wage may drop off the cheapest workers of any trade where it prevails, but it cannot alter materially the laws of demand and supply. Anti-Suffragists are as deeply opposed to the exploitation of women as any Suffragist. They do not believe, however, that this social disease can be cured by legislation. Legislation is easily passed and once in effect the law works neither better nor worse if man-made or woman-made. Women can secure almost any man-made law if needed for their protection. If women stood united for the *protection* of women they might even secure suffrage. But the Suffragists stand for nothing of the sort. They stand for the equality of woman, and at the end of every article demanding the abolition of all support and protection to women in marriage and in industry, a Suffragist's name will be found. They are here challenged to deny this fact.

The Anti-Suffrage solution for white slavery is not votes for women. They offer the suggestion that a good moral education for boys and girls both should begin with a respect for parents and for government. A more careful supervision of the associations, amusements and reading of

young people is necessary religious training; chivalry taught to boys in their relations to girls; the value of their influence taught to girls in relation to boys; *protective* laws for women and children; missionaries and homes for wayward girls; physical cleanliness and exercise as a part of moral health early insisted on in both sexes.

The Anti-Suffrage solution for industrial slavery is a preparation for girls for marriage and motherhood rather than for independent careers (whether a girl marries or not, the qualities which make a homemaker or mother are so much needed in our modern civilization that they command a salary and insure a livelihood quite as much as any of the less well-paid employments), and for domestic services rather than factory labor. Anti-Suffragists believe that the more women are taken out of industry, the more wages will increase and that both marriage and domestic service must be dignified and developed so as to make them attractive. Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren, a well-known Suffragist, says that for a woman to accept support from "another adult" is "degrading." On the contrary, the married woman who lives on her husband's earnings is a public benefactor in more ways than one. By refusing to compete, she keeps up both men's and women's wages, and if she is also an employer of domestic workers whom she treats with consideration, noting their accomplishments, improving their wage-earning ability, guaranteeing their promotions and providing for their vacations and old age, she is doing quite as much if not more than the self-supporting Suffragist who sneers at her for a parasite.

The Boy Scout movement has been followed by a movement for girls to inspire them to a higher standard of dignity, purity and gentleness of spirit, for on the girl's ideal of conduct the boy's chivalry must depend. To ask boys to protect girls who are familiar, vulgar and destructive and who have forsworn personal dignity, is putting more strain on masculine human nature than it can respond to for long. The guardianship of virtue can never be left to one sex alone. Suffragists ridicule the faith of the vestal virgin or the knight of the Grail, and yet they wonder why a miasma of confusion and wrong thinking is spreading itself over the world and affecting all classes of society. They hasten to attribute it to economic conditions and no votes for women. But the truth is nearer at hand. It will be found in false and degraded material ideals among women themselves. It is women who are enslaving women.

—J. T. W.

The profession of motherhood is not raised by being spoken of as a "trade." It is a vocation.

A Parable of Woman Suffrage

A large company of women were climbing the flank of a high mountain. They had been toiling upward for many years—they and their mothers before them, and their mothers' mothers' mothers, backward through countless generations. They had won upward, over chasms, along the brink of precipices, and up great walls of rock that hindered their advance; and although at times they had been baffled and disheartened by these many obstacles, at last they had reached a broad shoulder of the mountain, a plateau set on the flank of its slope, whence they could gain a larger outlook. They were able from this point of vantage to look back over the many perils of the way by which they had come; they beheld a wide domain which lay open before their feet, inviting them to enter and explore it; and, looking up, they saw before them the rugged way that led on, forward upward, to the sublime heights of the summit.

And many of the women said: "Lo! with God's help we have come thus far on our upward march. We have overpassed the hardest part of our road, and we have grown strong, and brave, and capable in conquering the difficulties that beset us. Here lies a rich field at our feet. Let us tarry awhile, and do the work that our hands can find, to till these fields and make them yield rich harvest, ere we pass on our way to the greater tasks of our upward road. So shall we grow stronger and more courageous for our purpose, and, God willing, more capable than we were to scale the heights above us, that will try our mettle sorely when we venture forward again upon our way."

But certain others of the women said: "Nay, not so! See, we have gone so far, let us not tarry, but hasten forward! We will no longer suffer this toil and hardship that have been our lot in the past. We will not join you in this profitless work here around us, while our further road lies open to the heights. Nor have we a mind to plod along any further in this weary, toilsome fashion, by which we have come along hitherto. See you not there to the left a clear, straight path, sloping upward—steep, indeed, but unimpeded—ever upward to our goal? One step aside is all that we need make—'twill lead us out upon yon smooth incline, along which but few obstacles (and those not hard to overcome) will intervene to stop our steady march to the distant summit. Come with us, foolish ones, or if you will not, and we take this step alone, you will be forced to follow reluctantly in our footsteps when you see how quickly we shall progress, and how we outdistance you on this new road that we are going to tread."

But the first women tried to dissuade these venturesome ones, pointing out the dangers of an untried path, and spake many warnings, showing them how a deep rift in the mountain-side separated them all from this smooth-seeming slope, narrow enough, indeed, to be overlept by a single stride, but by its very presence significant of danger. And long they stood and spoke back and forth upon the brink. Finally, those who were determined to try the new road, that seemed to them so inviting in its promise of quick and easy progress, refusing any longer to be held back by the oft-repeated warnings of their sisters, and gathering up their skirts about their knees for the leap, sprang across the cleft, out upon the smooth and easy slope, where at once they began marching with great strides, rejoicing greatly, and shouting over their shoulders: "Hitherto we have climbed with you, foolish ones, but henceforward we go on our own way, leaving you toiling far behind. Farewell! unless you will be persuaded to follow our example!"

And, lo! as they took the leap, a veil of mist, arising from the cleft, drew close before their eyes, hiding the faces of their sisters, whom they had deserted upon the hither brink, so that they could no longer see exactly where these stood, watching them. But the veil of mist was not so dense from this side, and those who remain could observe what was happening to their sisters, who had made the leap. And this is what they saw—the whole slope of the mountain was made of myriad grains of shifting sand, ever sliding, falling, drifting downward in an imperceptible, steady, constant stream; and at every step taken by the women, they were insensibly slipping with the sand gently and slowly down the sloping path. Thus were they, while seeming to themselves to be advancing, in reality gradually but surely retrograding, and with their faces set forward—seeing nothing but the distant goal whereon their eyes were fixed—beginning by slow degrees to measure backward the long reaches of the mountain, up which they had climbed so valiantly during past ages, they and their mothers before them.

—L. B. T. K.

The vicious circle is something as follows: "Votes for Women as a means to economic independence—Economic independence as a plea for votes." We want neither. We contend that the married mother is the normal woman and the bulwark of the State, and we defend her right to maintenance and dower, by whatever scurrilous epithet it may be called.

HOW PRESS VIEWS ACTION BY CONGRESS

(An Editorial from the Philadelphia Press.)

The action of the Woman Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate in favorably reporting a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution extending the suffrage to women is another step forward in the campaign for the vote which the little band of Suffragists in this county are so earnestly and at the same time rationally waging. But the supporters of the cause will do well not to attach undue importance to this action.

In the first place, the committee was organized with the express purpose of making such a report. Its chairman, Senator Thomas, comes from Colorado, one of the ten woman suffrage States. The author of the proposed amendment is Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, another woman suffrage State. The Senator who has been granted his dearest wish and been put in charge of the measure is Ashurst of Arizona, where also women vote. Two other Senators whose political career is more or less dependent upon the good will of the women of their States are Sutherland of Utah and Jones of Washington, two more of the suffrage States. Most if not all of the remaining four members of the committee are in favor of the amendment. It was a foregone conclusion that the resolution would be favorably reported out.

The report on the resolution is also almost too obviously designed to flatter. Surely it is superfluous to proclaim so verbosely the platitude that from women spring wisdom, courage, cheer, hope and good counsel, and it smacks of considerable condescension to prescribe that in advance of granting the suffrage to the other sex careful consideration should be given as to whether women as a class will "vote whenever full opportunity is offered, attempt to comprehend the questions upon which they vote, attempt to learn something of the character and fitness of the persons for whom they vote, vote against dishonest persons for office, oppose dishonest measures, refuse directly or indirectly to accept a bribe and refuse, directly or indirectly, to give a bribe; place country above party; recognize the result of the election as the will of the people and therefore as the law, and continue to fight for a righteous although defeated cause so long as there is a reasonable hope of success." Do the honorable Senators doubt the will or the ability of the women, or both, to live up to these high if somewhat familiar ideals?

Another circumstance which the advocates of woman suffrage will do well to bear in mind is that in spite of Senator Ashurst's announcement of his determination to use "energetic measures" to secure a vote on the resolution at the present special session, there is not the slightest

hope of its passage within that term. The chairman of the House Committee announces that no action will be taken at this session, and the measure will be bitterly opposed in both houses. However, it constitutes an entering wedge and gives a definite basis for the country-wide campaign which will now be fought with renewed vigor both for and against "the cause."

JUNIOR AUXILIARY FORMED

Never in the history of the State has so much interest been manifested in a campaign as is evidenced by the great enthusiasm being taken in the anti-suffrage campaign now being conducted all over the State by the New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Names are coming in by the hundreds, and the headquarters is almost swamped by the many requests for speakers from every part of the State and the insistent demand for literature. Owing to hundreds of requests, the New Jersey Association has decided to establish a junior auxiliary, and a cordial invitation is extended to all the boys and girls who are opposed to woman suffrage to come to headquarters and enroll their names as members of the junior auxiliary. The requests for the forming of the junior branch came from many parents, who maintain that there is a tendency on the part of some of the instructors in schools and colleges to teach woman suffrage. Teachers and institutional heads are in positions of trust, and it is held by the Antis to be a misuse of that trust to use it for the furtherance of any political propaganda.

The most dangerous trend of the suffrage movement, the Antis allege, is its Socialistic feature, claiming that some Socialist leaders in this city urge the followers of Socialism to induce their wives or sisters or mothers to work hard for woman suffrage, as that would be one way to increase the Socialist vote. The "wages-for-wives" argument of the Suffragists is a Socialistic argument, the Antis say, as is the care of the children by the State. Both of these arguments, the Antis hold, are aimed at the sanctity of the hearthstone, and they support those parents who object to these doctrines being taught in the schools and at charitable and religious institutions.

Massachusetts has had a junior auxiliary for several years. When its members reach the age of twenty-one years they are transferred to the State Association.

The boy who is given a gun and taught how to use it must shoot his own game. The girl who is given a dress allowance must pay her own bills. The woman who has a vote must not ask support and protection from men any more than a baby who can walk should cry to be carried.

CONNECTICUT'S ORGANIZATION

Fortified by the victory before the legislature, the Connecticut Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage conducted a four weeks' campaign this spring to strengthen their organization over the State before settling down to a summer of only comparative inactivity.

During the time from May 17th to June 12th twenty meetings were held over the State, addressed by Miss Lucy Price, of Cleveland, who had campaigned for two months in the State previous to the legislative hearing.

Nine new branches were organized and four more are reported in the process of organizing. The interest and enthusiasm proved even greater than during the winter time and the inspiring effect of the victory was pronounced.

In spite of the fact that the Suffragists have added a new State organizer and report over \$7,000 expended in their recent campaign of the State, the Anti-Suffragists have now nearly as many branches as their opponents, and this means twenty-five branches to the credit of those opposed to woman suffrage, all formed during the past fourteen months, while the Suffragists have organized thirty in the forty-two years of their existence.

All over the State this spring the sentiment seemed to be, "Suffrage will never come in New England, whatever may happen elsewhere."

And to make this sure, the Connecticut women are working with the definite and confident purpose of increasing their ranks until the majority of women of the State are definitely enrolled against votes for women.

THE BLESSED DAMOZEL

Admirers of "The Blessed Damsel" need not feel disturbed over this parody in which Bert Leston Taylor, in the *Chicago Tribune*, says his pleasant versified say about certain exciting political disturbances in England:

The Cussed Damsel cut loose
About half-past eleven,
Prepared to do as wild a deed
As any under Heaven.
Oil-soaked rags were in her hands,
And the bombs in her grip were seven.

She cried, "We'll blow this mansion up
Where Lloyd and George do dwell!"
"Wow!" cried her fellow-suffs, whose names
Were sweet as caramel,
Millicent, Pansy, Rosalys,
Phyllis and Christabel.

The Cleveland (Ohio) Council asked for the improvement of one of Cleveland's finest avenues. The request was refused by the street department. Then the women of the affected neighborhoods petitioned for the improvement and the improvement was ordered. Where was the "necessary power of the ballot?"

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Suffragists are clamoring for a new deal; the Anti-Suffragists are pleading for the old ideal.

The Anti-Suffragists are accused of having their heads in the clouds. That is far better than having the clouds in your head.

To be willing to take responsibility in matters we are not willing to investigate shows conceit and foolhardy presumption. Government requires study, not intuition and knowledge, not theory, and intelligence more than feeling.

"Women know their own interest," said a Socialist, arguing for suffrage.

"Is that the reason that about 90 per cent. of them are opposed or indifferent to votes for women?" asked a woman in the crowd. The Socialist changed the subject.

In the recent suffrage parade in Syracuse, N. Y., a young woman carried a banner in memory of her great aunt. This banner bore the inscription "There is a word sweeter than Mother, Home or Heaven. That word is Liberty."

Mother, Home and Heaven mean responsibilities. Liberty without responsibilities is license.

The Man's League for Woman Suffrage will be ably met by the Woman's League for Man Suffrage. Their office is at 37 West 39th Street, New York City. This ought to prove that chivalry between the sexes survives all attacks. We return the compliment. To the ladies! low bows. To the gentlemen! ditto.

The Suffragists say that voting, canvassing, caucusing, electioneering and all the business of government will not interfere in the slightest with woman's functions. This may prove to be perfectly true. A baby was born in a taxicab the other day. The mother was not on her way to the polls—but in their scheme of things she might well have been. Why not?

The super-woman is reminiscent of the old pagan superstition of demi-goddesses. They were the children of gods and mortals. Suffragists hope to produce a superlative race by the mating of super-men and super-women, but super-men have an irritating way of choosing their own partners and they are frequently not even Suffragists. Thus the race is continually held back to mediocrity. Votes for women will enable Suffragists to legislate for a removal of this difficulty.

The worst thing on earth is the person who is "perfectly willing to accept responsibility" without the smallest idea of what responsibility means. Under this head comes the man who marries without a settled position; the woman who wants to govern without the smallest knowledge of law, political economy or finance or the ability to enforce judgment; the married woman with children who desires a political career. Responsible women realize that the average woman does not possess the qualities or mental attributes desirable in government.

English women may serve on municipal and county councils, act as mayor of town or city, be factory or school inspectors and serve on the Board of Guardians. They possess the municipal vote and served on the Divorce and Poor Law Commissions.

Will anyone claim, however, that English women in general are more free or more considered than American women who have not so much political power? The American woman possesses legal and economic privileges vastly greater than her English sister. We have the substance, they the shadow.

And, strange to say, scarcely anyone realizes how many political privileges English women possess because so little advantage is taken of them. Mrs. Humphrey Ward testifies that it is almost impossible to induce women to serve on the London County Council, and Miss Violet Markham has already made the same statement.

Mrs. Philip Snowden in her recently published book, "The Woman Socialist," says:

"Free as the wind, the Socialist wife will be bound only by her natural love for husband and children" (page 61), and that divorce "will be much more easy of accomplishment" (page 62). Also that incompatibility of temperament will be a ground for "complete dissolution of the marriage contract with leave to enter into another marriage" (page 62). "It is more than probable that the church marriage service will be abolished. But it ought to be abolished. Under Socialism the marriage service will probably be no more than a simple declaration on the part of the contracting parties before the civil representatives of the State" (pages 60-61).

If the religious marriage ceremony is to be prohibited, as Mrs. Snowden advocates, in the minds of countless members of society it will be substituting for marriage a mere licensed cohabitation.

IN ENGLAND!

I want to be a voter and with the voters stand;

A welt upon my forehead; a brickbat in my hand;

And when before the Justice I'm haled, a howling wight,

I'll wake the welkin echoes—I'll scratch and scream and bite.

THE RESPONSE OF WOMAN

Arthur W. Robinson, D.D., has written a little essay on the question of woman suffrage, which is published in book form by Longmans, Green & Co. The book takes a high and religious attitude toward the question of the day. We taken pleasure in listing it this month in our publications recommended for reading.

CANADA OPPOSITION ORGANIZES

The Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in Canada was recently formed. This Association was formed to give those who are opposed to the movement in favor of woman suffrage an opportunity to testify to their belief; to express the conviction that such a measure would be against the best interests of Canadian women; and to stimulate others to a more active and intelligent interest in this side of the question.

This Association takes an active interest in all questions of civic, social and moral reform, and it claims that these can be best advanced without woman suffrage.

The work of the Association is to study the laws and conditions in Canada; to collect and distribute literature; to educate public opinion by means of meetings or lectures, and to keep a record of names and addresses of members and associate members.

Any woman who is opposed to woman suffrage in Canada may join this Association.

The executive committee is Mrs. Arthur Grasett, Mrs. H. C. Rae, Miss Mortimer Clark, Lady Aylesworth, Mrs. E. N. Bate, Miss Campbell, Mrs. James S. Cartwright, Mrs. W. Hodgson Ellis, Mrs. Hay, Mrs. Loosemore, Mrs. R. A. Lyon, Miss Macdonell, Mrs. McIlwraith, Mrs. E. L. Morton, Mrs. C. A. Moss, Mrs. Guy Robinson, Mrs. H. S. Strathy, Mrs. Graham Thompson, Mrs. Arthur Van Koughnet, Mrs. Warren, Miss Ethel Wright. The treasurer is Mrs. George Cassels, 265 Poplar Plains Road; recording secretary, Miss Laing, 28 Dunvegan Road, and corresponding secretary, Miss Plummer, Sylvan Tower.

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Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894

First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895
By Hon. Elihu Root

The Problem of Woman Suffrage By Mrs. Francis M. Scott
Woman's Rights in America By Adeline Knapp

A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin

Wages and the Ballot By Miss Emily P. Bissell
Should We Ask for the Suffrage? By Mary Dean Adams

How Women Can Best Serve the State By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer

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New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View Mr. John R. Dos Passos

The Voice of the People

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) G. K. Chesterton

Votes for Women (10c.) Frederic Harrison

Woman Adrift (\$1.50) Harold Owen

The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) J. Lionel Tayler

The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) Ida Tarbell

The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) Molly Elliott Seawell

Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25) E. S. Martin

The Unrest of Women (\$1.00) Arthur W. Robinson, D.D.

The Response of Woman (40c.) Grace Duffield Goodwin

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) Mrs. Rossiter Johnson

Woman and the Republic (25c.)

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23d Street, N. Y. Also, THE REMONSTRANCE; subscription, 50 cents; 687 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women:

Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage Francis Parkman

Of What Benefit to Woman?

Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage Jeannette L. Gilder

Letter to Legislative Committee Mrs. Clara T. Leonard

Argument Before Committee Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells

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